THE COMMONWEAL

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THE DESERT'S DIMENSIONS

WHAT is the status of prohibition? Reinforced by the triumph of Mr. Hoover, elated by the failure of the Smith plea to bring down the house, the cohorts of Volsteadism have done their hurrahing—and plenty of it—in the open. We have read several dozen of their rhapsodies anent the American desert, and are frankly sorry that in all the jubilee we can find nothing to our liking. Year after year the major American journals have waged a relentless attack upon the assumptions of the drys. The reason was not, as some morbid souls used to believe, that every editor is a guzzler, or that the phantom "liquor interests" have been subsidizing the business office. As a matter of fact the total economic importance of brewers and distillers has long since been microscopic in comparison to the check-books of really big business. The wetness of the press is obviously due to three simple circumstances. Newspaperdom has a tradition of liberty, a dislike of censorship in all forms, which influences editorial expression more than anything else can. It is in close touch with actual events, particularly those which savor of venality in public administration. Finally, it has an urban patronage. These three things are the pride and glory of the press, and one would imagine them easily recommendable to the public.

Why the number of staunch anti-prohibition converts has not increased faster is, therefore, somewhat difficult to explain. Is the electorate interested in facts? If so, the tabulation of evils attendant upon prohibition ought, at least, to have focused attention upon these. The whole sombre drama of bootlegging has been unfolded like a never-ceasing film of socially dangerous outlawry. Lists of those slain by "alcoholic poisoning" have trickled in and out of consciousness like unforgettable ugly pictures. More arresting than all else, however, are the details of the constant battle between offense and enforcement. The record indicates not merely that officials charged with imposing obedience to the law have been guilty of every sort of corruption, but also that the character of state and city government has been made contingent upon "concessions" to the unlicensed liquor trade. Finally, the bill for the whole show, as handed to the government yearly, makes all our national boast of efficiency sound like Munchausen.

To these simple realities your average prohibitionist simply closes his eyes. We discussed the matter recently with an intelligent dry, who happens to be also a very fervent Catholic. He did not deny the facts alleged against the Eighteenth Amendment, nor did he claim to possess any information calculated to show

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that liquor wreaks less havoc today than it did in the rampant ante-bellum years. He rendered all such discussion futile by repeating the categorical statement that drink is itself an evil, not intrinsically, perhaps, but certainly under existing social conditions. With the greatest earnestness he declared that if people abstained from fire-water and kindred beverages, the world would contain a good many more contented homes and virtuous souls. To try weaning individuals by means of education was, in his opinion, too slow and costly a process. Accordingly, the law must destroy all vestiges of alcohol.

We believe that his point of view is fairly typical. Some prohibitionists may be far more emotional and jumpy, but the point to which they cling is nearly always the same. Discussion of expense, both financial and social, is therefore unavailing in argument. Your reformer would not budge an inch if the total price paid for enforcement made the well-known war debt look like a tip to a none too exacting waiter. It is, of course, obvious that he is the victim of a fallacy; and Mr. Hoover himself indicated that the policy of the government ought to be guided by an estimate of difficulties. In what other enterprise could a comparison of profit and loss be ignored? The United States adheres to the tariff because it believes that the resultant gain in wages and business more than offsets the difference in prices. Moralists are normally in agreement that the blessings which accrue from private property leave a comfortable balance over and above injustices and the basic deviation from the natural ideal of communal goods. But just as a "radical" Socialist is a man to whom justice in the abstract means everything and the means to attain it very little, so the prohibitionist is a person to whom drinklessness is the only alternative to drunkenness.

Now it may be that a policy of stressing costs and conflicts will ultimately remedy the present intolerable legal situation. One cannot easily believe that more youthful generations, remote from the social vices identified with the old saloon, will manifest that intemperate zeal for temperance which has characterized the whole advance toward Volsteadism. Nevertheless, there is good reason for thinking that a more effective note might be stressed. After all, men have been restrained from communism less by argument than by simple pleasure in their personal possessions. Is alcohol and its decent use nothing more than a naughty foible or a chance to illustrate capacity? We think it would be relatively easy to enumerate a multitude of good things that have always gone hand in hand with wine. History tells us that the sultan first resolved upon the conquest of Cyprus when he had made the acquaintance of its excellent vintages; and if such a teetotaler on principle could recognize a good thing when he sensed it, why should we close our eyes to it? More important than all else, however, is the kind of government we should have if prohibition suddenly ceased to be, and some respectable form of supervision took its place. Then the house would not be in arms against itself, cherished liberty would cease to be at odds with law, and we should be proud of our civic ability to handle a man-sized problem intelligently. These and a hundred other benefits ought to be advertised widely by all who oppose the existing situation.

But can anything be done? We believe that repeal of the law is virtually impossible. Governor Smith's speech of acceptance outlined all that could be hoped for in this respect; and if such a plan had been incorporated in the Republican platform it would, no doubt, have been endorsed by the popular vote. Could a similar program be recommended again and again to the people, it might eventually win their approval. This is impossible, however, so long as anti-prohibitionists rely entirely upon a national advertising campaign. We need very particularly a network of local organizations, equipped to influence a million communities. Your average citizen may irrigate his mind with press comment, but he changes it after talking with his neighbors. An earnest and militant antagonism to the Eighteenth Amendment, if marshaled in this way, would equip public opinion that is arrayed against the Anti-saloon League and the bootleggers' union with a punch and a staying power incomparably superior to the system of "disregarding" now so widely advocated.

It is, of course, not entirely easy to effect such an organization. One must face the necessity, to begin with, of finding the golden mean between the opposites of saloonery in the golden days and the present federal farce. What the nation is to do must be decided upon and proposed frankly, clearly, unequivocally. Moreover, there is no substitute for the centres which so many Protestant churches, faithful to the spirit of the older American revivalists, presented to prohibition advocates. To triumph over these and sundry other obstacles necessarily requires a great deal of hard work. But the United States is now so thickly dotted with associations more or less directly interested in reasonable civic living that it should not prove impossible to get a full hearing for the facts. After all, the circumstance that human nature is on his side should greatly encourage every protagonist of revision who is at the same time patriotically conscious of a social duty. Believing as he does not only that Volsteadism is wrong but also that the normal use of wine is right, he will realize that the example recently set by Australia, New Zealand and Canada can eventually be followed in this country. These countries, however, are seemingly less hampered by prepossessions than our own electorate. So many class-consciousnesses and definitions of the "perfect American" are abroad that it seems impossible, frequently enough, to get a reasoned consideration of a problem. But even Simple Simon, however proud of himself he may have been, did not keep right on holding the sieve under the rain-spout.

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THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEK BY WEEK

OF REACTIONS to Mr. Coolidge's Armistice Day speech there is no end. European statesmen were frank in expressing their keen disappointment, and it remains a little difficult to tell whether they are justified or not. When Mr. Kellogg brought the pact to Paris and affixed his signature with a now historic pen, the way seemed prepared for a resumption of international initiative by the United States. The arbitral position occupied by Washington with reference to various important economic relations would, it was felt, expand into a more direct and official concern with the problems which underlie world reconstruction. Those who doubted that the Senate would immediately ratify the treaty were dismissed as inconsequential pessimists, and spirited discussion of how the war debts might be disposed of began almost immediately. At no time since 1917 has applause for the Americans reached such volume and intensity. Then came Mr. Coolidge's address. It was probably intended to be nothing more than a fresh endorsement of the "strong navy program" which the administration had confessedly liked last year, but something in the tone reëmphasized that ancient distrust of the rest of mankind which has characterized Republicanism ever since the Wilsonian bubble was exploded. How vastly disappointed everybody was may be inferred from a remark contributed to La Liberté by the famous French political writer, Jacques Bainville: "Ratification of the pact by other signatories has only a secondary importance. For its essential value consists in the engagement of the United States, because that country will then be forced to consider the vital question of membership in the League of Nations."

OUR feeling is that the significance of Mr. Coolidge's remarks has been grossly exaggerated. That he would like to launch a few nice new battleships has long since been perfectly obvious. In the manner of all conservative statesmen he is a "protectionist" in both senses, and quite as attached to the "strong arm that will guard our treasure" as to subtler schedules which are designed to help that treasure grow. The reasoning is wholly sound until one begins to think of the other fellow. Is he too entitled to safeguard his treasure? If so, how vast a watchdog will he require? As things are now, he usually feels that he needs a large, well-drilled army and a varied assortment of cruisers, submarines and capital ships. These he will keep on having, to the best of his ability, so long as there exists no coöperative agreement to stop increasing the armament. Just how to promote that agreement is the most interesting of contemporary public debates. To it Mr. Coolidge, it must be confessed, contributed nothing very enlightening. On the other hand he most assuredly did not want to halt progress.

ONE point regarding naval armament is most interesting because it reveals so clearly the complexities of the discussion. Commenting on Sir Austen Chamberlain's statement that the Mediterranean is a British artery and that, therefore, "a navy suitable not only in size but in character" is required to protect it, the astute and well-informed New York World opines that "real equality of power on the sea is impossible." Why? Because strength is always relative to an adversary, whom it is impossible to define abstractly. The Armada was the world's champion navy until British privateers appeared; the Monitor shelved many dozen boats of which Lord High Admirals were proud. But when the World argues that naval supremacy could not be maintained against several amalgamated fleets, and that therefore Sir Austen's Mediterranean policy is mistaken, it has overlooked one fact. A really great navy under a central commander is worth three lesser fleets under separate control, though these be superior in tonnage and numbers. Apparently Britain and the United States must follow a policy of building the largest fleets; and they are fairly safe in doing so because the privilege is conceded, for one reason or another, by the rest of the world. But most assuredly they ought to seek the minimum rather than the maximum needed, if only for the reason that the disarmament debate cannot continue otherwise.

WITH the announcement that King Victor Emmanuel has sanctioned the striking of a gold medal for valor in memory of Roald Amundsen comes the news

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that an unnamed philanthropist has purchased the explorer's other medals, fifty-one in number, and presented them to the Oslo Museum. The purchase price will be used by Captain Amundsen's estate to pay his debts in full; and thus his last wish, as expressed to his lawyer—"Make me a free man. See to it that my debts are paid"—has been carried out. It is good to know this, especially in view of the fact that the debts were contracted in the cause of science. Captain Amundsen became bankrupt through his attempt to reach the North Pole by airplane in 1924, an expedition in which he sank his personal fortune of not less than $250,000. Everyone will applaud the impulse which freed the name of such a man from the stigma of financial obligation. Roald Amundsen was one whose value to the world was more than as an explorer and scientist; the temper and the character in which his deeds were achieved have meant much to us, spiritually, these last twenty years. Perhaps the most heartening story of 1928 was his setting out to find the lost party of the Italia, and thus becoming, in his death, as in his life, an inspirer without attempting to be one. The citation on the medal in his honor reads, in part, "Sublime example of human solidarity, of bravery and of chivalry," and even in English that first adjective is not an overstatement.

SOMETIMES the tall, thin capital letters with which prejudice tries to spell itself into distinction look very old-fashioned indeed. How anyone who is at all familiar with the confluence of immigrant currents in our national life can adhere to colonial notions of caste, remains a mystery to everyone excepting the expert social pathologist. This we are not, and so the address to which the National Association of Manufacturers listened, with apparent approval, at its last annual meeting in New York City, is frankly very puzzling. The president of the Association, Mr. John E. Edgerton, of Tennessee, summarized his speech by saying that he had "endeavored to present three closely related groups of thoughts." "The first one," he declared, "is that economic prosperity cannot be divorced from sound morals, social progress and political stability; that due primarily to the operation of uncontrolled alien influences our national integrity is threatened at all these points, and that both the obligation and the right of leadership in all corrective or forward movements involving interpretations of American ideals belong inseparably to those natives of our country having no divided allegiance or attachments and having in their very blood an appreciative understanding of our institutions." What these remarks are supposed to mean must be left, in part, to the imagination; and we hope that Mr. Edgerton, now reëlected president of the Association, will leave nobody in doubt. Meanwhile the editor of the NCWC news service has considered the matter important enough to deserve an extended commentary. To this we invite our readers to give their undivided attention.

IT REQUIRED the somewhat dramatic arrest of smugglers on the docks at New York recently, and the interception of a package of diamonds worth $50,000, to draw public attention to the enormous injury being done by smuggling to the jewelers of this country. The strategy of the secret service men on the Cunard wharf by which they discovered the identity of the man to whom the jewels were consigned was the romantic peg on which Mr. Meyer Rothschild, president of the American Jewelers' Protective Association, hung his case for a revision of the tariff which would eliminate the advantage that smuggling gives a dishonest jeweler. It is estimated that something like $35,000,000 worth of gems are taken into the United States illegally every year—a volume sufficient to affect the prosperity of almost every four-square jeweler in the land, by making him face the cut-rate competition which smuggling fathers. Sporadic drives by federal agents on the smuggling industry will not remedy this evil condition, and as a result Mr. Rothschild's organization asks for a return to the 1909 tariff rates of 10 percent for cut stones and free entry for uncut stones, rather than the present rates of 20 and 10 percent. Here is the unique case of an American business which suffers from protection, and which will probably ask the next Congress to free it from a costly paternalism.

MOST interesting, indeed, are some current efforts by members of the French nobility to participate, without surrendering any part of their tradition, in the political and social work of the present era. It has long been evident, of course, that "good families" in France, owing partly to their own adroitness and partly to the fidelity of their country to the institutional character of its society, have lost very little under republicanism excepting the right to a preponderant share in the government. Not many months ago Count Wladimir d'Ormesson, well-known as a writer, warned his fellows that refusal "to reckon with the natural development of historical circumstance" would merely mean restriction to the company of archaeological trifles. Now there appears the movement which Count Romanet organized and named Pax, the purpose of which is to promote understanding of international conciliation as a traditional aim which the middle-ages themselves had sought to foster. Part of the work is to consist of writings calculated to influence public opinion; another part is to be the confederation of the nobility in support of the cause. Much has already been accomplished, in a spirit of trying to advance Catholic principle as well as of meeting contemporary moral demands. It is worth noticing that the French government has actually endorsed and even subsidized the movement.

KNOWN only as the CL-28, one of the eight cruisers of 10,000 tons authorized by Congress in 1924 is without a name. As more than 14 percent of its

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construction is completed, it would seem that the ship is already deserving of something better than initials and a numeral in the way of a title. And we commend to the attention of Secretary Wilbur a suggestion embodied in This Man Adams, by Samuel McCoy, whose enthusiasm for his hero is contagious. Among other things he writes: "If anyone may be said to be the father of the American navy, it is indeed this man Adams. His devotion to it was so great that it ultimately was the cause of his failure to be twice elected President. His whole difference of opinion with Alexander Hamilton and with those members of his own Cabinet who sided with Hamilton—a bitter quarrel which brought down upon him enemies too shrewd to be defeated—may be traced back to his hot defense of a navy, in a letter addressed to his Secretary of War. All his life long he strove for a navy; and his reward was humiliation. It is not singular that the nation at large should not know he is the true father of its naval strength; but what honor does the Navy Department pay him?" Without inquiring into the merits of Mr. McCoy's remarks, one is constrained to admire their spirit. As it would gratify him, so it would gratify his readers, if the CL-28 were to be christened the John Adams, and a bottle of real champagne broken over its bows. Ships have been named before this for reasons which were much less consequential.

THE decision of the Guggenheim Fund for Aeronautics to hold a competition for airplane safety is a timely one. In this, the twenty-fifth year since the first flight in a heavier-than-air machine was made by the Wright Brothers, the United States alone is manufacturing more than six hundred planes a month, few of which are exact duplicates. More than 20,000 miles are flown daily over the mail routes which connect eighty-eight cities and serve a trading area inhabited by 80,000,000 people. And yet these operations over the established airway system constitute but one-tenth of all civil flying! Only public confidence in the comparative safety of air transport could make possible such a development; a confidence which will be increased as manufacturers are encouraged by such means as the Guggenheim competition to greater efforts in perfecting safety devices. At present perhaps the most notable work is being done in England, where the Hanley-Page company has brought to a high degree of efficiency its slot-wing arrangement for keeping a plane under control. This machine, together with others of foreign manufacture, will undoubtedly be entered in the contest, and it would mean much to this country if every American maker should prepare an entry.

WHEN Mr. Arthur Train got up to recite his inaugural as president of the Authors' League of America, there must have been some trace of warlike resolve on his handsome countenance. After having summarized the achievements of the League in disposing of unfair business conditions, he admitted that the organization was not "a powerful and highly respected factor in the artistic life of the nation." The reasons, he said, were many, and until they had been disposed of the League could not "be justly entitled to the position it now temporarily holds in the public mind as a body genuinely representative of American letters." We enjoyed especially his remarks on current prize-giving and his suggestion that a literary council of the League be instituted to confer annual awards for literary excellence. This "would carry far greater weight than the decisions of judges of magazine contests, of the literary eunuchs who now gratuitously presume to declare what is the best of everything, or the self-constituted committees of busybodies and publicity seekers who bestow birthday honors to the clatter of coffee cups and the tinkle of ice-cream spoons." Indeed, the ease with which a trifle can be transformed into a masterpiece these days by a judicious choice of blurbers is one of the truly marvelous things which characterize our illustrious contemporary civilization. What would the rest of us do if the Authors' League really did set a match to it?

IT MAY give us comfort to learn that certain Athenians were not speaking metaphorically when they announced their determination to seek the arms of Venus. They were referring to the statue unearthed by a peasant at Milo more than a century ago, and the hope behind their search is that the bottom of Milo harbor holds the fragments broken when French and Greek sailors fought to take possession of the statue and carry it off to their respective ships. Curators of the Louvre are scornful of the dragging operations and believe (we dare not say hope) that the half of a hand and the piece of a forearm which they have long displayed in the same room as the statue are all that remained after the riot of the celebrated arms. We respect this belief, but cannot follow the curators when they doubt that the restoration of the arms would be desirable, given the celebrity of the statue in its present form. We must suspect the prejudice of ownership when these French imply that a lady without arms, because of our familiarity with her lamentable condition, is more acceptable to us than the same lady intact. If this were so, there would be no joy in miracles of healing. We should prefer that the lame never walk, and the deaf never hear, and the eyes of the blind remain stone forever. Or, turning to inanimate things, we should not be pleased with Viollet-le-Duc for his reconstruction of Carcassonne, of Pierrefonds, of Saint Sernin at Toulouse. As it is, most of us will wish more power to the searchers. May they recover what is left, if anything, of Milo's once exquisite appendages. We should like to see that most grand of marble goddesses as the documents represent her.

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THOMAS FORTUNE RYAN was the representative American taking advantage of typical American opportunities. The generation and social order to which he belonged held out tremendous prizes to the individual who possessed the requisite ability to organize and lead. In company with a half-dozen other men, he accomplished an almost incredible amount of work and, of course, reaped the reward. Such a career is now difficult to duplicate. Mr. Ryan was, indeed, often referred to as the "last of the old order," and a definite flavor of romance seemed to attend all his activities. In no way did he manifest more originality than in his munificent support of good works. Generally the donations, which were often surprisingly large, came through someone else —a friend or a member of the family. In this fashion he avoided publicity and awkward scenes of thanksgiving, but reaped the pleasure and merit of charity. Perhaps the most notable thing he ever did was to provide the fund for building the Church of Saint Jean Baptiste, in New York City, where perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament is maintained. The rector of this beautiful shrine has spoken appropriately of Mr. Ryan's bounty and character. To his words The Commonweal would like to add its own gratitude for assistance given during an era of hard constructive effort. It was characteristic of him to be generous in a matter-of-fact manner, after the example of the "just steward" which, all things considered, has been followed in the United States as nowhere else in the world.

RECRUITING THE LAYMAN

WHAT can the layman do? No other question, one may venture to say, has seemed more important to the reigning Holy Father; and on the basis of the answer he himself has given, a new participation by the laity in the general life of the Church has been inaugurated. In his first encyclical letter (Ubi Arcano) the Pope urged all to share "in the works of the apostolate, both individual and social." The method advocated was defined by him as "Catholic Action," which was to be the sum total of all organizations and movements already in existence, with something "of the spirit" added thereunto. More recently further counsel and even a number of official declarations have made the character of the proposed movement more definite. The concordat with Lithuania, for instance, stipulated that the government of the country would do nothing to obstruct the progress of Catholic Action, the character of which was tentatively defined. Of primary significance, however, have been the works of papal nuncios and princes of the Church to introduce the concept into the Catholic mentality of various countries.

The last German Katholikenverssamlung (or Catholic convention) held in Magdeburg some weeks ago, stressed the papal idea with a vigor which is, to say the least, most impressive. Cardinal Faulhaber, of Munich, declared that the new movement was designed to bring out the full significance of the sacrament of confirmation. "The lay apostolate," he said, "is a revival of an early Christian concept. In his First Epistle, Saint Peter proclaims to all the faithful, not only to the clergy, 'You are a kingly priesthood.' Saint Paul praises those who had labored with him 'in the Gospel,' meaning not priests only, but lay men and women as well." Monsignor Pacelli, the nuncio, told the assembly that Catholic Action means "intimate association of priests and laymen in the thought of a common apostolate for Christ; unified endeavor on the part of Catholic organizations which share the vigor of unifying, unselfish Christian love; and undivided leadership for Catholics with regard to all questions of religion and morals, in conformity with the principles of the Faith and the mandates of the teachers and shepherds appointed by Christ." Thus the Holy Father's desire is explained as being not an appeal for a new organization, but rather a consecration of the laity to the new apostolic tasks imposed by the age. They are asked to consider themselves not merely the beneficiaries of ecclesiastical life, but, by reason of the sacraments they have received, sharers in the Church's work, and men or women crowned with a great responsibility.

From the layman's point of view, Chancellor Marx, in an important address at Dresden, outlined what might be the possibilities of the new movement. He asserted that a glance at the surrounding world indicated how very many souls had succumbed to the charms of neo-paganism, either in the form of moral decay or in the shape of fashionable philosophic scepticism. The appeal of the Holy Father is therefore "a cry for Catholic unity," not in the sense of constituting opposition to others not of the Faith, but verily for the purpose of safeguarding confidence and virtue that are as significant as eternity. Chancellor Marx also quoted words indicating the hope of Pope Pius that the purposes of Catholic Action will be cherished particularly by those "who are privileged by reason of their training or position to further the cause of Christ."

We believe, therefore, that the Pope wishes to accomplish two things: first, to remind all associations inside the Church that the Church is itself the great society—that special purposes merge in the larger central hope, and that mean disputes about the "province" of one group as against another are out of place; secondly, to awaken the layman to a new recognition of his share in that grace which alone renders men kingly in the eyes of God, so that no one will fear to expend his all in Christian service, or retreat from the scene thinking there is no room for him. These matters and others are clearly expressed in the official declarations, which have been gathered by P. Erhard Schlund into a little book entitled (there is no English translation) Die Katholische Aktion.

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No one familiar with conditions in the United States can doubt that the idea proposed with all the authority of the Holy See is most expedient and inspiring. There is, of course, no danger that the laity are to be entrusted with work they are not fitted to carry out. Indeed, the papal declarations give to the bishops every post of direction and importance. But it is true that the layman is called upon to become more than a vicarious guest in the kingdom of Christ, who is stuffed with doctrine and consolation and is then suffered to sleep tranquilly. He must take his share in the fishing, and do his part to stem the flood.

LABOR HOLDS THE LINE

EVERYONE, the fashion notes declare, must realize by this time that a season of modernized elegance is upon us—an elegance as far removed from the simplicity of two years ago as it is from the elaborateness of the end of the century. A novel sleeve treatment, an interesting neckline, a new interpretation of the deep hem—these are the foibles which enrich the natural silhouette without disguising it, and make for a wide variety of design. As for returning to the rolling billows of the Victorian period, that is out of the question. "A mirage," one writer calls this notion, and adds: "Despite increased elaboration the fundamental contour of the moment is straight and quite without pre-war exaggerations."

Fresh from reading the proceedings of the convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans, these notes strike us with a peculiar force. That the destinies of labor should take a path parallel to the whims of the gentlemen who dictate ladies' fashions from the happy atmosphere of the Grand Boulevards does not seem a proper arrangement of things. We may object, but we cannot deny the facts. And the facts are that labor, too, is as far from the frightening complexities of the nineties as it is from the crass simplicity of, say, 1919. Its existence thirty years ago was violently conspicuous. It was engaged in a struggle which was to determine whether or not it might look forward to a continued existence, and "moderation" was seldom spoken in its ranks. These days were precarious ones for organized labor in this country, but they had at least this merit, that they were exciting. The friends and the foes of labor, its ideals, its sympathies and its antipathies all took on an enlarged shape and significance in the minds of the organizers. In the fat golden days after the war, however, the spirit of the American Federation of Labor went to the other extreme. It was now well and prosperously established; the practice of collective bargaining was accepted by employers almost everywhere because they could do nothing else; the enemies of the unions had their backs to the wall, and Mr. Gompers could announce a membership of more than five million, partly made possible by the government's war policy of encouraging organization. Those were the days of ease and dulness. Union meetings, except in the ever restless coal and textile regions, took on a tame insignificance. National conventions, for the most part, marked time, and went through the simple pretenses of routine.

In neither of these conditions does labor now find itself. The recent convention at New Orleans realized that it had real work to do. Perhaps its most serious problem was offered by the loss of something like two million members since 1919. Many of these can be brought back into the fold, despite the success with which employers have been opposing the closed shop, and the effect of apathy toward union membership which this had on the unorganized. And effective work can be done in some industries which have never seen a strong, well-directed effort at organization. In this connection perhaps the most significant resolution passed upon by the convention was that introduced by the Cigarmakers' International, asking for sole jurisdiction over the tobacco workers in order to wage an intensive campaign for membership in the cigarette factories of the Carolinas, where wages now run as low as $8.00 a week.

Unemployment, too, gave the delegates concern. Although more men are now at work than in July, the percentage is still in the eighties as compared with 1919, and this counterbalances the fairly high wages being paid. Delegates from each part of the country presented their special unemployment problems and remedies, none of which were more interesting than those outlined by the leaders of local unions along the Canadian border. With many of their members out of work, they object to an arrangement which permits thousands of Canadians to enter the United States each morning in order to work in the automobile factories and machine shops of Detroit and other border cities. Other unions urged restriction of immigration from South American and Central American countries, and the International Seamen asked that Filipinos be placed on the basis of the Chinese. President Green's chief worry seemed to be the effect which the increasing use of machines is having on labor's chance to work, ability to bargain, development of craftsmanship and mental independence. "The American Federation of Labor will never permit a human scrap-heap to be created in America," he asserted.

All these problems made the recent convention the most crucial which the Federation has held in years. And yet it considered them in an atmosphere of calm. There were some interesting speeches, but what fighting spirit was in evidence seemed to be artificially created. The ginger which formerly characterized a meeting of the Federation was largely absent; while alive to the urgency of the moment, everyone wished to avoid further complicating the situation of organized labor. From all of which it may be inferred that, despite the elaboration of its purpose over the last few years, labor intends to hold the line.

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WHAT CAN THE KELLOGG TREATY DO?

By GEORGE E. ANDERSON

A SCORE of years ago—to be exact, on April 24, 1908—Elihu Root, at that time Secretary of State of the United States, delivered an address before the Second Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law in Washington on The Sanctions of International Law, in which that eminent American international jurist and statesman stated several principles in support of international law which lie at the foundation of the American concept of international obligations, and which have a direct and forceful bearing upon the practical aspects of the Kellogg-Briand treaty for the outlawing of war. At the time of the delivery of this address Secretary Root was rounding out that administration of the foreign affairs of the government of the United States which at once not only placed him in the front rank of the international jurists of all time, but also did much to establish the leadership of the United States in the movement for international conciliation and arbitration, of which the several international peace conferences at the Hague embodied most of the practical results.

In his address before the leaders of American thought and practice in international legal affairs, the Secretary drew a comparison between the certitude of the sanctions of municipal law and those of international law with a view of demonstrating that the differences in these sanctions were much more apparent than real. It was shown that it was a mistake to assume that the sanctions which secure obedience to municipal law consist solely or chiefly of the pains and penalties imposed for violations. The Secretary declared:

> It is only in exceptional cases that men refrain from crime through fear of fine or imprisonment. In the vast majority of cases men refrain from criminal conduct because they are unwilling to incur in the community in which they live the public condemnation and obloquy which would follow the repudiation of the standard of conduct prescribed by that community for its members. As a rule when the law is broken the disgrace which follows conviction and punishment is more terrible than the actual physical effect of imprisonment or deprivation of property. Where it happens that the law and public opinion point different ways, the latter is invariably the stronger.

The Secretary further declared that the impulse of conformity to the standard of the community and dread of the condemnation are reinforced by the practical considerations which determine success or failure in life, and that:

> It is only for the occasional non-conformist that the sheriff and policeman are kept in reserve; it is only because the non-conformists are occasional and comparatively few in number that the sheriff and policeman can have any effect at all. For the great mass of mankind laws established by civil society are enforced directly by the power of public opinion, having as the sanction for its judgments the denial of nearly everything for which men strive in life.

The Secretary then made the chief point in his argument, namely, that

> The rules of international law are enforced by the same kind of sanction, less certain and peremptory, but continually increasing in effectiveness of control.

He showed how increasingly loath nations were becoming to transgress those limits of national conduct established by recognized standards among nations, how increasingly anxious they were becoming to pay that decent respect to the opinions of mankind which had led the American colonists to make their Declaration of Independence an appeal to the world as well as a declaration to Great Britain. He declared also that:

> National regard for international opinion is not caused by amour propre alone; it is supported by self-interest, in that nations found it better to support international law and have its protection than to forfeit its benefits, and that beyond this is the consciousness, long recognized by the world's greatest statesmen, that in the most important affairs of nations there is an indefinite and almost mysterious influence exercised by the general opinion of the world regarding the nation's character and conduct;

that the real sanction of international law is in the world-wide inquiry following a nation's non-conformity with accepted standards; and that the power of this opinion is exercised not so much by governments as by peoples.

Not only has this statement of the principles upon which international law is founded remained the basic formula governing the international relations of the United States during the last twenty years, but these principles have also been more and more generally recognized by the publicists of all nations as the real basis on which all satisfactory international relations are founded. The experiences of the great war and its aftermath have only served to strengthen these principles, this sanction of international law. Germany, for example, whether the prime mover or the scapegoat in the great war's genesis, has had enough experience with the force of world opinion to give ample demonstration of what the sanction of international law really is.

It is evident that both from a practical international legal standpoint and from the standpoint of practical

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statesmanship, the public opinion of the world which has brought about the international agreement in renunciation of war embodied in the Kellogg-Briand treaty at Paris, not only with respect to the original signatory nations but also with respect to the general adherence of the nations of the world to the convention, is and will remain the real sanction which will make the "outlawing of war" a practical reality or an iridescent dream. However, there are certain practical considerations with respect to this treaty which endow it with much more meaning than might at first appear.

It must be realized in the first place that while international law in the past, and in a general way at present, is sufficient for the settlement of ordinary international differences and disputes, and in fact the great mass of everyday differences are settled according to its principles, it has failed to prove itself adequate for the settlement of many major issues. This has been due partly to the fact that in many respects the tenets of international law have remained more or less indefinite. Most of them are in fact mere moral principles, valid by accepted universal custom and consent, taking their highest and most effective form when embodied in formal treaties to which the nations of the world have agreed. Aside from the principles accepted in these general treaties, much of the body of international law consists of court decisions and the works of writers upon the subject which are capable of various interpretations or are, at best, of doubtful authority.

There has never been an established code to govern the relations of a nation with other nations, and the result has been that in times of critical moment and under the stress of national passion many rules have been so disputed or obscured by debate that not even the nations involved have been certain of their position, while the force of the public opinion of the world has been completely lost in the haze of uncertainty. More important in the present juncture is the fact that in certain major matters the nations of the world so far have been unwilling to admit that the accepted rules of international law should govern them. In questions of national honor, for example, few nations have been willing to submit their cases to the arbitrament of international public opinion or international courts, although undoubtedly their national policies in such matters have been influenced, unconsciously perhaps, by world opinion.

In matters relating to the exercise of force as a national policy there has been particular hesitancy to forego any legal rights under international law. It is difficult for many people to realize it but it is a fact, nevertheless, that under the rules of international law nations have, or have had, the right to go to war for the assertion of their rights and interests. The question of the morality of a war has hinged entirely upon the justice, or the assumed justice, of a nation's rights or interests involved—the morality of war itself has not been brought into question except as an academic matter extraneous to international law. Accordingly, when nations in solemn conclave and in obedience to the public opinion of the world formally agree to renounce war as a national policy, they at once take all questions of international law and international morality as related to war, out of that uncertain and dubious category which has rendered international public opinion ineffective at times, and place them in a category where he who runs may read. They have enacted a new rule of international law in its highest and most authoritative form to be enforced by the good faith which world opinion demands. Their new obligation is not merely moral; it is legal as well. They have renounced a real right heretofore acknowledged to them under the rules of international law and have established a new standard of international conduct which any nation hereafter violates at its own definite peril.

There is, therefore, in the Kellogg-Briand anti-war treaty, something more than the mere gesture toward peace which most of the enemies and some of the friends of this agreement have seen in it. The nations agreeing to its provisions have renounced a real right under international law, and have assumed new obligations which they can violate only in the face of that final sanction of all law, both municipal and international, which is the real force controlling, in the mass, the actions of men and of nations. The practical results from a legal standpoint are, that within the limits of the agreement established by certain reservations, nations can no longer have the support of war as an instrument of national policy in the assertion of rights and interests, however just or important they may be. For the assertion of their rights and interests or for the correction of any wrongs they may suffer, these nations must hereafter look solely to those peaceful means of adjustment and accommodation among nations whose value experience is demonstrating beyond question or cavil.

Diplomacy, under this new dispensation, becomes an art of moral suasion with the mailed fist cast in the limbo of departed or departing savagery. Naturally every nation has the right to defend itself from aggression just as every citizen has the right of self-defense with the consent of and under the protection of municipal law. But with respect to wars for any purpose each signatory nation—and, by example, every other nation—is at once placed upon the defensive. It is arraigned before the bar of the world and, as in the case of individuals arraigned before the bar in municipal law, must demonstrate its right to the favorable judgment of all men lest they receive that "denial of nearly everything for which men strive in life." There may be a few nations willing to face the condemnation and obloquy of the world, just as there are criminals willing to defy society under municipal law; but certainly there will not be many. In the meantime, in view of the clear declarations of the

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new treaty of Paris, no longer can a nation hide its devious war tracks in a maze of obfuscation and discussion. "Trial by battle" is no longer a legitimate means of settling an international dispute, any more than it is accepted as valid in the settlement of private or criminal cases in British and American jurisprudence.

However, since public opinion is the final sanction of this new international law, as it has been of all law, it is necessary for its effectiveness as a sanction that it shall be a living, vital force. "Pitiless publicity" in international affairs is one essential for its vitality and vigor, but its chief effectiveness must come from that earnest desire and will for peace in the public thought of the world which has successfully forced the chief nations of the world to go so far along the road toward the peaceful settlement of every international issue. Without the support of the public opinion of the world the Kellogg-Briand treaty cannot be expected to succeed; with the sanction of a living, growing, vocal world opinion its success in the prevention of war may confidently be anticipated.

TOLSTOY IN RUSSIA

By CATHERINE RADZIWILL

IT IS nearly twenty years since Tolstoy breathed his last in the humble cottage of a station master, where he had sought, but perhaps not found, a refuge from a world which he had come to despise, in spite of the fact that it had in a certain sense fallen on its knees before him and worshiped at his shrine. And it becomes now possible to look objectively on his work, in view of its results upon the Russian mentality, and to analyze the influence which he is supposed to have exercised over his contemporaries as well as over his country.

I will perhaps shock my readers when, in respect to the second fact, I venture to say that this influence has never been as great as is supposed abroad, and that it never equaled, either in its consequences or its power, that wielded by Dostoievsky and Turgeniev —especially the latter, whose books have done more than those of any other Russian author to develop the sense of right and wrong in Russia and to awaken Russian conscience out of the state of apathy into which it had fallen after the unsuccessful attempt of the small group of men called the Decembrists to bring their country to a level with the rest of Europe. In that sense he stands heads above Tolstoy, who even in his most talented works remains more or less the photographer of his times; he could never touch these higher regions of moral doubt as to the rectitude of one's own life which shook all those who, after having read Memories of a Sportsman, or Fathers and Sons, came to realize that there was something rotten in "this state of Denmark." This feeling was never experienced by the Russian admirers of Tolstoy because, when all is done and said, he never could entirely affiliate himself with those masses whose welfare he had so much at heart. His most perfect work, Anna Karenina, is perfect only because it reproduces with photographic exactitude the manners, customs, feelings and laxity of principles of a certain set in St. Petersburg and Moscow society, to which Tolstoy belonged. He never could shake off its trammels completely, even after he had retired from its midst and started on that new phase of his existence which consisted in returning to what he considered the simple life, among simple people to whom he always remained an enigma, and who only looked upon him as a harmless lunatic who ought to be humored because, after all, the theories which he preached were inoffensive ones.

This was the opinion of the peasants of Yasnaya Poliana, for whom he decidedly never was a prophet. It was also that of other people, more intelligent than those peasants, people with education and refinement, who would have given much to have found a guide in the various moral struggles they were going through, but whose individuality refused to accept Tolstoy's leadership, although they would no doubt have eagerly submitted to that of Dostoievsky, and always remained true to that of Ivan Turgeniev.

I will here enter into a digression and try to convey to the American reader an idea of the state of mind which prevailed in Russia in the middle of the last century, and which alone rendered possible the development of the literary geniuses whose works have astounded their contemporaries in their own country as well as abroad. This state of mind, the consequence of the Napoleonic wars, and indirectly of the French Revolution, was also partly produced by the abortive effort of the Decembrists and the inexorable repression which followed upon it. It did not find an expression for long years, but it existed all the same: a state of mind which consisted in general dissatisfaction with the prevailing order of things, with the system of government to which Nicholas I remained faithful to his dying day, mingled with the desire to bring about a change in it, and with the vague consciousness that it was not right for one class of society to have all the privileges, that of education included, while the masses remained plunged in ignorance, dirt and squalor. Russia, cultivated Russia, aspired after a change but, ruled as it was by an iron hand, it did not dare say so, humanity as a rule being more or less a coward. But when one or two courageous men arose to denounce the existing evils, these men, because they were the speakers for the masses, naturally became

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the leaders to whom all those who had thought what they were thinking, who had been revolted by what was revolting them, turned in their mental distress, trying to find and finding in them the support they had hitherto failed to meet.

This explains the success of Dostoievsky and especially of Turgeniev among Russians. They spoke about what everybody else knew, but had lacked the strength to protest against. It is quite certain that long before the publication of Memories of a Sportsman the Russian upper classes, the only ones that counted at the time, as well as the Russian intelligentsia, which was beginning to come to the front, were thoroughly disgusted with serfdom and longed for its abolition, but they had not found proper arguments to sustain this opinion. These arguments Turgeniev furnished them with, and he made them feel that they were right in their revolt against a system of government that held for its essential principle the surrender of liberty and the denial of citizen rights to the majority of the inhabitants of the country, in order that a small, depraved minority might enjoy the fruits of their toil. In that sense Turgeniev's influence for good was enormous. It survived him, and it exercised its sway over two generations of human beings who, using his arguments in place of those they did not find themselves, finally brought about this revolt of public opinion which compelled Alexander II to free the serfs. In the same order of thought, Dostoievsky's Memories from a Dead House opened the eyes of the public to the iniquities of political exile in Siberia, and excited indignation over its flagrant injustices and cruel consequences. Both these authors succeeded in their endeavors to awaken the Russian conscience, principally because they never allowed themselves to rush into exaggeration or even to comment upon the facts they described. They simply showed what these facts were, nothing else. But this was more than sufficient to make Russia think, which she had forgotten to do since Nicholas I crushed the Decembrist rebellion and sent to the scaffold or to Siberian prisons the flower of the Russian nobility, that had arisen against a system of government which they felt to be an anachronism in civilized Europe.

And once it had got into this habit of thinking, Russia persevered in it, in spite of the fact that it knew this was bound to bring it within the scope of the law. It thought so much, spoke so loudly, that finally the country obtained the phantom of a constitutional government when the first Duma was created, and that, later on, after long years, a bloody revolution drove the Romanovs from their throne. In that particular sense of teaching the Russian people to think, both Turgeniev's and Dostoievsky's influence have been paramount, and the entire development of intellectual life in Russia is due to them and to their works. And in spite of all that has happened recently in that unfortunate country, their influence is still a fact with which history shall have to reckon.

Now, nothing of the kind has happened to Tolstoy. He sprang into fame almost suddenly, through two or three great books; and these books were great only because they were descriptive, admirably descriptive, photographically descriptive. They did not influence the masses, although they did readers, which is not the same thing. No one who in those early days had perused Anna Karenina felt tempted to imitate Vronsky or Levin, nor did people imagine that they could rise to the height of the heroes of War and Peace. But many young men had, in their enthusiasm for the personages of Turgeniev's novels, made up their minds to follow in their footsteps. There is not only a subtle but an immense difference between these two impressions produced by books of almost equal literary importance, the difference which exists between acquired and naturally developed genius.

Fathers and Sons, as well as Memories of a Sportsman, moved most profoundly the whole of Russia by bringing vividly before its eyes its most vital political and social problems, which had been ignored before Turgeniev drew them to its attention in all their ugly nakedness.

It was Dostoievsky who awakened the conscience of the nation with his Memories from a Dead House. Tolstoy excited the interest and especially the indignation of St. Petersburg and Moscow society with Anna Karenina, in which it found the picture of its own sins, follies and mistakes, and at the time the book appeared, it was only this high society which counted in Russia, where the very existence of other social classes was ignored. St. Petersburg and Moscow talked and talked, and Tolstoy became their hero, partly out of fear, and partly out of the desire to conciliate this great talent; but although the book was far more widely read than the works of the other two great writers I have just mentioned, no social or political reform, such as a modification of the penal system or the liberation of the serfs, followed upon its publication, or could be ascribed to its influence.

The reason for this lies perhaps in the fact that whatever he did, Tolstoy, at least in his early works, remained under the impression of his education and environment. He had not assimilated the mentality of the lower classes, and never, even after his conversion, succeeded in assimilating it, though both Dostoievsky and Turgeniev had done so. In this he will remain always inferior to Balzac, who thought as his heroes would have done, but did not expect them to think like himself, which explains why every one of them is so intensely human.

Now Tolstoy's personages are only human when they move in the spheres in which he himself moved. They are immensely so in that case, because he always was, and remained, a magnificent photographer. But the peasants whom he describes never acted or could have acted as he makes them act, and while, for instance, the men and women in his drama, The Powers of Darkness, might have committed the crimes he

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charges them with, they would never have performed them with such premeditation nor repented of them with such sincerity. There is more cunning and less depravity in the Russian peasant, at least there was before Bolshevism upset his mental and moral equilibrium. In pre-war Russia, the principal feature in the character of the rural classes was a complete unconsciousness of what was right or wrong.

At the same time the descriptive power of Tolstoy to which I have referred gives him quite a unique place among modern Russian writers. It explains why he at once acquired such a dominant position in his country, which, after the feverish times of what was called "the period of the great reforms" (comprising the early years of the reign of Alexander II) had gradually returned to its indolent habits of former days, and slowly forgotten how to think. He offered it the pretext it had been looking for, to show that although it liked to be called intelligent, it preferred not to come too near social problems which might embarrass it; if examined too closely, Tolstoy's talent, and later on Tolstoy's philosophy, provided it with an everlasting topic of conversation.

His conversion made much stir, but had no imitators, except among a very small circle of people who, like him, had been seduced by the religious movement initiated by Lord Radstock. This British preacher at one time had made many proselytes among Russian high society. Tolstoy's creed had much in common with that of the English reformer, and he fell under the influence of some men, among others Mr. Tchertkov, who had embraced it more widely and more completely than Tolstoy himself. It is not for me to discuss the sincerity of these conversions. I only want to point out that the theories of Tolstoy, while they acquired for him a few proselytes, had the effect of parting him from many of his former admirers, and of minimizing the power for good he might have wielded over the rural classes. It must not be forgotten that before the war the Russian peasant liked to see in his superiors something quite unlike himself, and was singularly devoid of what I would call the envy of the lower classes. He lost his respect for his landlord if he found him stooping to do what he was doing himself. The lord of Yasnaya Poliana was considered by his villagers as a kind of prophet, not entirely in possession of his mental faculties, a "yurodiv," as they called them in ancient Russia. He was not taken seriously into account by the very people whose existence he had declared himself willing to share, an existence which he had told the world he considered to be healthier than the one to which he had been born and had been leading.

In the meantime, the society which he spurned simply smiled at him and pronounced him eccentric, but held him nevertheless in great respect, because it felt that he was a national glory that was carrying high the flag of Holy Russia before the foreigner. But neither the peasants nor the nobility nor the Russian intelligentsia was ever tempted to do what Tolstoy preached, to believe what Tolstoy believed, to think that Tolstoy was right in his theories, which very few considered to be sincere. The fact of the matter was, he lived too luxuriously and too comfortably to be successful when he advised the world to renounce its pomps and riches.

Turgeniev on his deathbed wrote him to implore him to return to the literary work of his early years, which had brought him so much fame. "My friend, great writer of our Russian land," he said in this appeal, "go back to literature. It has made you great, it can help you to do so much good!" Vain request of a great mind on the threshold of dissolution! Tolstoy had strayed already too far from real literature to heed this appeal of one standing at the open gate of the realm of true knowledge!

Strange to say, it was abroad that Tolstoy really exercised a decisive influence. Europe as well as America was taken in by this colossal figure, and found in this wonderful mind something which appealed to its own mentality. In that particular sense Tolstoy was more of an Occidental than either Dostoievsky or Turgeniev, who are too intensely Russian to be understood elsewhere and whose mentality is only Russian and nothing else. It is as immense as Russian plains, as dark as the Russian soul, which still remains a great unknown, sometimes even for its own self.

Time alone will give the great writer his proper place in the literary movement of his century, a place which may be greater in the European intellectual development of the nineteenth century than in the Russian development. He is at his best when looked upon from afar, like those mountains the immensity of which disappears as one gets too near to them. I want to appreciate neither the man nor his colossal work, leaving this to more competent people than myself. I have merely tried to explain the place which he really occupied in his country while alive, and the fact that, with all his immense genius, he did not in reality influence it. He did not even urge it on the path of those reforms in its social structure which he preached so continuously and so eloquently, though Dostoievsky and Turgeniev, especially the latter, had brought them about without trying or even wishing it, simply because what they had written had been felt by them so intensely that it had moved the masses into realizing that there had been delivered to them a great message.

Autumn

Now we are old with dreams, and hours pass
More slowly; and Love sits nodding in her chair,
Fitfully waking; and thoughts hang like a mist
Above the autumn orchard; and the grass
Bends slowly back again where Youth had kissed,
And Love, white-throated, laid her laughter bare.

NORBERT ENGELS.

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EVOLUTION AND EQUALITY

By JOHN A. RYAN

THE concept of equality has not received from Americans a critical consideration "commensurate with the fundamental place it has held in our political and religious and social assumptions." This condition the book before us* endeavors to correct. In both its critical and its constructive parts it is so typical of the ideas prevalent in non-Catholic universities and so menacing to human welfare, that it seems to deserve a more extended discussion than that which is attainable in an ordinary book review.

The first four chapters of the volume are descriptive and critical; the last two, doctrinal and constructive. In the former we obtain a historical sketch of equality in America as related to the Declaration of Independence, the institution of slavery, the movement for woman's rights, and the philosophy which until recently has seemed adequate to support equalitarianism. On the assumption that this basis has been discredited, the last two chapters present a new philosophical and sociological basis for the doctrine of equality.

The traditional basis was "a conception of human nature that made the core of personality something transcendently derived. . ." (Preface). In other words, it was belief in the intrinsic worth of the human person as possessing a soul made in the image and likeness of God and endowed with certain natural rights. It was a conception derived from and developed by Christianity. According to this conception, the individual was morally immune from attacks upon his life, his liberty and his reasonable minimum of welfare, whether by individuals or by the state.

Scientific progress, particularly in relation to the theory of evolution, has, however, rendered this basis of equality no longer available or tenable. "Man is not primarily rational." The human self is not "an independent entity, simple and substantial. . . ." It is merely "a biological organism. . . ." There exists neither a fixed human species nor a fixed human self. Consequently the conception of the person as including a distinct and independent soul, and possessing intrinsic worth is accepted by "few modern students." Nevertheless, the doctrine of equality ought not to be given up. "Needed then by struggling classes [is] a basis for equality that will be at once logically adequate, socially safe and practically effective." This basis must be found in "some new understanding of human nature and of its place in the world."

What is this new foundation for equality which is offered by the author in the name of evolutionary theory and modern philosophy? Well, it is pragmatic instead of ontological. The concept of equality

> is functionally useful without being statically true. . . . If equality of treatment produces consequences of maximum desirability it is justified, regardless of whether men are equal in the old sense or not.

In the opinion of Professor Smith, the doctrine of equality is "functionally useful," does produce "consequences of maximum desirability," inasmuch as it is essential to effective coöperation. "Men work together better when they regard themselves as substantially equal." This is true of the family, religion, industry, politics and all other human relations and associations. The twenty-five pages which the author uses to elaborate and illustrate this proposition are surely adequate and ample.

How far is it desirable that men should coöperate or be treated as equals? They should obtain equal opportunities of education, a living wage, a considerable measure of industrial democracy and a better distribution of wealth and income.

Why does Professor Smith regard this amount of equality as desirable? What is its final end? Since equality is not true in itself nor good in itself; since it is good only because it is useful, it must find its justification in some end which is intrinsically good. An indefinite series of ends is at once illogical and undesirable. The only formulations of the final end which we find in the book are these incidental expressions: "the good life" (277); "a happy and efficient society" (322); "a happy and efficient social order" (324).

Such is the philosophy of equality which the author would substitute for that set forth in the Declaration of Independence and ultimately derived from the natural law and the teaching of Christianity. In theory it is false; in practice it is worse than worthless. It begins by confusing the diverse concepts of truth and utility. The claim of equality is true, we are informed, "if it functions truly." Pretentious pragmatic nonsense! Utility means conduciveness to an end; truth means conformity with reality. A doctrine may be false, may have no support in the realm of objective fact, and yet may be very useful to certain persons. An employer might find it profitable to multiply the daily wage rate of his employees by three instead of by six when he makes out their weekly pay checks, but he would scarcely call the device truthful.

Practically or pragmatically considered, Professor Smith's basis of equality is pitiable quicksand. Its "functional" value is a fatal delusion. A considerable degree of equality is, indeed, a condition of effective coöperation, but what is the use of effective coöperation? To ensure "a happy and efficient society"; that

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is, a society which provides a generous amount of freedom, education and material well being for all its component individuals. Such, at least, seems to be Professor Smith's conception of the desirable final end. Suppose, however, that the dominant class, or group, or element, whether it constitutes a majority or a minority, rejects this conception. Suppose that a determinant plutocracy holds the desirable social order to be one in which the masses obtain scarcely any education, merely subsistence wages and practically no control over the labor contract or any other phase of their industrial life. Consider the slave-holding oligarchy which dominated our southern states before the Civil War. In its own eyes it constituted "a happy and efficient society." It needed no doctrine of equality to provide the enforced "coöperation" upon which it was based and which it made "functionally" effective. A dominant plutocracy would be satisfied with similar compulsory "coöperation" and would likewise regard its social order as "happy and efficient."

Upon what logical basis could Professor Smith argue that either of these conceptions of "a happy and efficient society" was false or inadequate? Not on the ground that they do not function; for one of them did function satisfactorily to the dominant class for many generations, while the other has functioned in a considerable degree ever since the industrial revolution, and the term of its functioning has not yet been reached. Professor Smith could not protest that the submerged masses have spiritual souls or intrinsic worth or natural rights; for these metaphysical entities have no place in his philosophy. According to his view, men have no more sacredness than animals, and they are obviously not equal among themselves, either physically or mentally. Why, then, should human individuals not be exploited in the interest of the dominant element, just as the brutes are exploited? Nay, why should not human individuals be killed outright, just as other animals are killed, whenever this action seems to have "functional" value for the ruling class? Should Professor Smith protest that all this is inhumane and contrary to our inherited and accumulated social instincts and sympathies, the dominant class could logically reply that sentiment has no legitimate place in a scientific conception of the universe.

The sober and abiding truth is that the traditional view of equality is the only one which possesses genuine functional value. Since men are equal in the sight of God, have souls made in His image and likeness, they have equal intrinsic worth and equal natural rights. The latter are necessary means to the development of equally sacred personalities and the attainment of an eternal end to which all are equally destined.

Upon this basis of intrinsic worth and of natural rights, and upon it only, can be erected all the educational, civic and economic opportunities for the individual, and all the specific forms of equality which Professor Smith demands for the "good life."

The ideal of "a happy and efficient society" can readily be rejected on the obvious ground that apart from its constituent individuals society is a mere abstraction, or that society can be so interpreted as to include only the dominant social group. The intrinsic worth of personality rests upon fundamental intuitions which are in some degree perceived by men of all social conditions and which cannot be entirely ignored by any normal mind. To those who are deprived of reasonable equality these intuitions provide the most powerful motives for protest and resistance; to the consciences of those who in practice deny reasonable equality to their fellows, these same intuitions are always a potential source of disquiet.

Professor Smith stresses the fact that many believers in the traditional doctrine were able to reconcile it with the institution of slavery. To this objection there are two replies: first, self-interest and the presumption that is enjoyed by existing social arrangements can always prevent some men from making a logical and complete application of their principles to actual life; second, the welfare of the enslaved persons and of society as a whole may require the temporary continuation of a mitigated form of slavery as a smaller evil than immediate abolition. After all, equality and natural rights (except the right to life) are not ends in themselves. They are merely means to human welfare. In abnormal circumstances this end can sometimes be furthered by temporarily disregarding some of the normal implications of equality and of natural rights. Despite human selfishness and human weakness in the concrete application of equalitarian principles, it was precisely these principles, as traditionally conceived, that mainly brought about the abolition of slavery in the western world. Indeed, an unbiased view of history shows that the equality actually achieved in any social relation must be credited for the most part to the doctrines that all men have spiritual souls, that their persons are sacred and that they possess equal natural rights.

But, objects Professor Smith, these doctrines are no longer serviceable, since they have been overthrown by modern science and modern philosophy. Apparently he concedes to these "authorities" a more unquestioning submission than a Catholic gives to the authority of the Pope. The arguments which he adopts therefrom may be reduced to two. Evolution shows that man is merely a biological organism, not differing essentially from the lower animals which are his progenitors; hence he is devoid of that additional and independent entity called a spiritual soul. As a matter of fact, studies in evolution are incapable of yielding any such conclusion. Even if biology and kindred sciences had established organic evolution as a fact, and not merely as a more or less plausible hypothesis, they could neither affirm nor deny the existence of the human soul. They might assure us that man's bodily organism has been genetically derived from the lower animals, but they could not tell us

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whether his mind has thus originated, or whether it is or is not a distinct spiritual entity. This question is necessarily beyond the reach of empirical science, which can deal only with physical facts. The methods of physical science are as incapable of determining the ultimate nature of mind or of establishing the non-existence of the soul as the naked eye is of perceiving the qualities of organisms that can be seen only through the microscope.

Although he nowhere clearly avows it, Professor Smith's basis of equality is simply philosophical materialism. It excludes spiritual values, virtually eliminates belief in God, denies the sacredness of personality, holds that human beings differ only in degree from brutes and deprives the weaker classes of that invaluable protection which is inherent in the doctrine of natural rights. In place of the intrinsic values of Christian ethics, it logically and necessarily enthrones force, physical, political and economic, and superior cunning, as the principles and determinants of social conduct and social welfare. Such is the "pragmatic" substitute for the traditional doctrine of equality. Such is the gift of modern philosophy to the human race. Such are the conceptions of human dignity and of morality to which are exposed the thousands of Catholic young men and women who follow the courses in biology, evolution, sociology, ethics and philosophy in many of our secular colleges and universities.

THE AMERICAN DYNASTY

By WILLIAM C. MURPHY, JR.

HUMORISTS discourse perennially upon the possibility of a football game between the College of Cardinals and the Electoral College. It would be an uncommon spectacle indeed, and worthy of the personal attention of those who keep an eye on affairs.

But the humorists, among others, customarily overlook the fact that the two famous colleges really have one very important function in common. Each within its own field is the agency through which supreme power is transmitted from one ruler to his successor. It is the College of Cardinals which, on the death of a Pope, selects him who is to carry on the spiritual dynasty which has reigned unbroken for more than two thousand years. It is the Electoral College which, every four years, chooses the chief executive to carry on that line of rulers who, without bloodshed or disorder, have succeeded one another from George Washington to Calvin Coolidge.

The succession of rulers has been a fruitful source of war and human misery. Echoes of the struggles over the Spanish and the Austrian successions reverberated throughout the known world. England was drenched in blood by the Wars of the Roses, and by the later struggles culminating in the final overthrow of the Stuarts. The Holy Roman Empire has a history made up for the most part, of accounts of struggles between Guelph and Ghibelline, struggles which frequently centered around the selection of rulers. Oriental history is replete with the intrigues and battles of the contending claimants for many thrones.

It follows that when an agency can be devised to insure an unbroken and peaceful succession of rulers, that agency is a very valuable thing. Perhaps it is significant that since the College of Cardinals has been left free to elect the Pope, unhampered by the vetoes of secular sovereigns or the intrigues of contending nobles, there have been no disputed successions to the Papacy. Nor have there been any disputes as to the succession of American Presidents in any instance in which the choice has been made by the Electoral College. The nearest approach to a serious controversy was the Hayes-Tilden contest of 1876 when the vote of the Electoral College was counted as having given Mr. Hayes a majority of one electoral vote after Congress, under pressure of the disturbed conditions growing out of reconstruction, had resorted to the extraconstitutional procedure of creating an Electoral Commission.

Another peculiarity which is also a similarity between these two great agencies of succession is that the College of Cardinals seldom meets with anything resembling a full membership in attendance, except at the conclaves when it chooses a new Pope, while the Electoral College has never met at all and there is no legal method by which it could be called into session.

The Constitutional Convention labored tediously over the method of electing the President. At one time it was decided to provide for his election by Congress. Later that decision was reconsidered. Proposals that he be chosen by a direct vote of the people and by the governors of the states were rejected. Finally the expedient of an electoral college was accepted. After this method had been approved the Convention did something which, perhaps unwittingly, has changed the entire procedure of selecting the chief executive from that contemplated by the Convention, and, probably, has done more than any other factor to prevent intrigue and corruption in the election. On September 6, 1787, when the Convention was drawing to a close, two motions were offered to provide that the entire Electoral College should meet at the seat of the federal government and ballot for the Presidency. Both motions were rejected. There were advocates of governmental economy in those days too, and it was argued that it would be a needless and

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extravagant expense to bring all of the electors to the national capital to cast their votes.

Thus it comes about that the electors meet in their respective states on the second Monday in January, which is a date fixed by law, and cast their ballots, which are then transmitted to Washington to be counted. The development of the party system, whereby the electors of each party are pledged—at least morally—to vote for the candidate selected by the national convention of their party, has reduced this January election to a perfunctory formality. But it is a subject for interesting speculation as to whether or not this situation would ever have developed if the Electoral College as a whole had been directed to meet in the national capital. Under such conditions the College would have been an imposing organization. Its meetings would have been as picturesque as—and far more dignified and imposing than—the national conventions of the major parties are today. Undoubtedly, there would have been nominating speeches, and, perhaps, even the adoption of platforms before the actual votes were cast. Furthermore, in all probability, there would have been just as much of trickery, of chicanery, of parliamentary maneuvering, and of actual corruption, as have characterized the national conventions of the various parties at one time or another. A wise Providence may have had something to do with the adoption of the present system.

However, there are some apparent defects in the present system which have been recognized at times, and attempts have been made to initiate measures designed for their correction. There is, for example, the possibility that the persons chosen as President and Vice-President might both die between the second Monday in January, when the electors cast their votes, and the fourth of March following. There is no provision for calling the Electoral College into special session; once it has acted it is without further power. In the circumstances mentioned, the President and Vice-President then in office would go out of office on March 4; their terms are for four years and no more. It is true that the Presidential Succession Act of 1886 provides that the Secretary of State shall act as President in the event of the death or disability of both the President and the Vice-President and it has been generally held that the Secretary of State holds office until he resigns or a successor is appointed. Consequently the Secretary of State in the retiring administration would hold over into the next. However, there have been serious questions raised as to the power of Congress to regulate the presidential succession by law in cases where neither President nor Vice-President has taken office, and the issue has never been determined. But even if it should be determined that Congress has such power, what an anamolous situation might develop!

Suppose the retiring administration were Republican and that the Democrats had carried the November election. There would then be presented the spectacle of an appointive officer of one political faith holding supreme executive power for four years after the country had elected a President of the other party. Apparently Congress had this incongruity in mind when it provided, also in the Act of 1886, that the Secretary of State upon assuming the office of President should call Congress into session within twenty days unless it was to meet earlier in regular session. But what would Congress do about it after being called into session? The constitution gives Congress no power to call a special election. Nor could the argument be sustained that the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives because the constitution specifies that procedure only in cases where no candidate has received a majority in the Electoral College.

The growth of factions and blocs within both of the major political parties in recent years suggests the possibility of a situation similar to the one just discussed, but arising from different causes. Let it be supposed that there are three presidential tickets in the field, as there were in 1924, and that the electoral vote is split so that no candidate receives a majority of the whole. Then, in accordance with the constitution, the election of a President devolves upon the House of Representatives. The system of voting separately for President and Vice-President, as prescribed by the Twelfth Amendment, would make it almost inevitable, in such an event, that the election of the Vice-President would devolve upon the Senate. In ordinary circumstances the House of Representatives is able to transact its business with a celerity that is frequently the envy of the Senate; but the election of a President is an extraordinary circumstance. The election would not be carried on under rules prescribed by the Rules Committee and forced through by the use of the previous question, as is done in ordinary legislative procedure. The rules governing the House when it sits to elect a President are laid down in the constitution, where it is provided that each state has one vote, that two-thirds of the states must be represented and that a majority of the whole number of the states is required for election.

Now if the vote in the Electoral College is split three ways in such manner that no candidate has a majority, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the various state delegates in the House may split in approximately the same way. According to the constitution, the House is limited in its selection to the three persons who received the highest number of votes in the Electoral College, but that, obviously, permits each group in the House to go on voting for its own candidate—where there are only three candidates who receive electoral votes—for as long as the members of the House wish to do so. It is specified in the constitution that if the House has not chosen a President by March 4, then the Vice-President shall become President. But what happens if the Senate has become deadlocked in the selection of a Vice-

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President? To be sure, the Senate is limited in its choice to the two highest candidates in the Electoral College. But there are also the requirements that a majority of the whole number of senators and a quorum of two-thirds of the whole number are necessary to a valid election.

Furthermore there is unlimited debate in the Senate, except that cloture may be imposed by a two-thirds vote. Cloture may be disregarded for present purposes since it is necessary to go back to reconstruction days to find a Senate in which one party had two-thirds or more of the members. When it is remembered that Congress does not count the vote of the electors until the second Wednesday in February and that the session of Congress expires by constitutional limitation on March 4, there is no call for any undue stretch of the imagination to envision a filibuster in the Senate which would prevent action within that limited period.

OUR SHRINKING HOSPITALITY

By THOMAS L. MASSON

SPACE is becoming so valuable, and indeed we are all becoming so traffic-bound, that it is getting to be a serious problem to harbor anybody. The laws of hospitality ought to provide for a collapsible guest, one who can be folded up and put away when not wanted, and polished and brightened when other guests come in.

The main object of having a guest is to show him off. Among the neighbors it is rather telling to say that you are having the royal family with you this week: Queen Mary is so nice to have around: not the least bother—you wouldn't know she was there. And King George! always up for breakfast, right on the minute, ready to do anything, never scatters his ashes on the floor, always the same, cheerful and considerate, and Queen Mary said yesterday: "Don't you make a fuss over us. What we're after is just a quiet time. And do let me make my own bed."

Those are the kind of guests one reads about. In a general way, however, you never can tell how a guest is going to turn out until you have tried him, and there's nothing to be done about him anyway afterward. You cannot reprove him or train him like a pet animal. And you must pass most of your time lying to him and deceiving him—urging him to stay over another week, when you can't wait to get rid of him; telling him that he is one of the three or four people in the whole world you have known who makes you feel that you don't have to put yourself out for him, when, in reality ever since he stepped over the mat you have been dragging the poor boob around mentally trying to invent amusements for him. And the fact that he swallows them all, bait and sinker, and never expresses anything, never says he likes it, makes you want to brain him.

There are guests precisely like that; and others precisely the opposite. Gushing, pouring fountains of enthusiasm and gratitude over you for the perfectly wonderful time they are having.

I am not ordinarily a cynic. But I ask this: If we cannot live alone with ourselves in one house for more than a few hours at a time without feeling like doing something desperate, how can we expect to live with others?

It is different, of course, with very wealthy people who keep large establishments and who have guests, not alone for display, but for diversion. In this case you can meet your own guests when you want to and, as there is always a quantity of them on hand and they are all taken care of by major domos and butlers and grooms and under men, there is nothing strained or personal about your contact with them. Each one of them has been selected for some special merit or reputation of his own and contributes his bit in return for food and shelter. The whole affair is utterly devoid of either friendship or sentiment, as it should be: it is a barter in pedigrees or special talents, or even money. As a rule, however, money does not entertain money, which would be a mere exchange of dulness. Rich people must be amused, sensations are rare, so their guests can be almost anybody or anything so long as their manners are bearable, and they can do something to tickle one's palate.

The worst of it is that here, in this present era of jazz, no guest can contribute anything to the entertainment of the majority of us who are not wealthy enough to provide much more for him than board and lodging. The only sanitary state between a host and a guest is, where they can get away from each other at any moment. There used to be a time when a guest was a friend. Now he is only a guest, and no matter what he does, he is almost sure to be an amateur at it, and you have probably already become tired of seeing it done much better.

There was a time, quite recently, when young male guests usually from some college, played the mandolin. But who wants to hear anybody play the mandolin now, especially when the best mandolin players are under contract with commercial people who use them on the air for advertisements?

There used to be lady guests who sang. Imagine any lady guest offering to do that now, unless she was a prima donna! Even at that she wouldn't, and if you once went to school with a prima donna and she should now be your guest, you have already heard her so much—on the air, on the phonograph and at concerts and opera—that you certainly wouldn't want her to sing more than once or twice anyway. The rest of the time she would be on your hands.

What could anyone do with a prima donna on the premises as a kind of prize guest? One might as well have an elephant. They are notoriously temperamental and have to be fussed over and groomed and taken about to keep them in good temper. Indeed all female guests are suspect. There is only one thing worse than one of them who has been pampered and coddled and become selfish and that is the one who hasn't been. A selfish woman knows always definitely what she wants, and gets it. An unselfish woman is always trying to do something for others. In other words, as a guest she is kind, thoughtful and impossible.

In these days nobody visits anybody else except for some sinister motive. And on this account there is something to be said for quartering relatives, because they furnish a valid excuse against having guests. You can insult a relative and he doesn't mind. There is no love lost between you, whereas it is possible, however rarely, to love a guest. The thing has been done, especially when he is good enough to leave before you expected him to. You can lock up your car and your gas tank in the face of a relative knowing that he will crib both if he gets a chance, and he doesn't mind. There was a time when I despised all relatives; but I came to see at last there was good in them, if only as buffers for guests.

And all this I have written is, I hasten to assure the doubtful reader who may be suspicious of my motives, and possibly

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think that in a spirit of cheap revenge I am trying to get back at someone—all this, I assure you is not intended to be superior. I myself visit at intervals and, while I always regret it and am glad to get back home, there is much to be said for guests, who have their troubles.

Hospitality in the beginning must have been started by someone who wanted to convince others that he was better off than they—that he had no skeleton in his closet, even if they had in theirs. The first man who kept open house day and night and who went around telling everybody that the "latch string was always out" must have been a terrible bounder. Also, imagine if you will any one of us now saying to a guest as he entered with the customary genuflection of obsequiousness that our house and lands and everything in it and on it, are now his! That would mean, of course, that he would have to begin paying installments at once, and right through to his finish.

Nevertheless it is a lovely thought, this ideal of hospitality, and by no means to be dismissed. "Everything I have is yours." That is the recognized symbol of true friendship, and as host it does give one a grand feeling of self surrender, to know that the guest who enters is now the real proprietor, the mystic head of your layout. Woe betide him, however, if he crashes down a Winslow chair, or breaks a sandwich lamp!

Is modern hospitality, then, all bunk, and are hosts and guests equally guilty under its laws? Yes and no. The difficulty lies in the fact that hospitality has not been standardized, or we may say that everything else has been standardized but hosts and guests.

How can any host today compete with any hotel keeper, no matter where he is? The hotel is full of guests you never have to meet personally, and you never see the host himself, which is worth the price of admission. Or his wife and family, which is worth double the price of admission. You do as you please, you can shut yourself up, you are no man's slave.

A national committee on hospitality should be appointed and a set of rules adopted, just as they do in golf or bridge. No guest at a week-end should be expected to pay more than 10 percent of his income to the servants. No host should drag his guests about and show them his early or late corn, his Sealyham terriers or his last Whistler etching. No guest (especially if she is a prima donna) should be allowed to sing in the bath-tub for over a minute and a half. By settling all these doubtful points and reducing hospitality to a system, it ought to be possible for hosts and guests to live together for reasonable periods of time and still be friends.

To My Soul

I do not jest, my errant soul,
When I announce that I
Have lost all that control
I once could sternly ply.

Out to yon sky, thou passionate thing,
Where love is young and life is free!
Out! Out! upon thy silvered wing,
Out to thy star-lit destiny!

And canst thou see my fond heart bleed,
As sadly I would voice farewell,
And loose thee to the earthly creed?
And oh, my soul, I wish thee well!

FRANCES STONE.

COMMUNICATIONS

AFTER THE ELECTION

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor:—When the summers-up of the Republican point of view wafted their messages across the ether on election eve, one voice presaged defeat for the brown derby. Mr. Burke and Mr. Hughes sounded a less dangerous note, With their straightforward presentation of the commercial appeal they were powerful enough. Yet the honest citizens of a prosperous country, sold on the idea that man as compared to his machine is an insignificant creature, might have been reassured that the election of Governor Smith would not result in the scrapping of the tariff or the destruction of our industrial framework. But the Lady from Kentucky who opened the attack. Ah! Yes, the Lady from Kentucky. Her voice, its rhythm, its tones and overtones, was an epic which sang the hopes and fears, the aspirations and fanaticisms of a class which has appropriated to itself the honorable title and determined rule of America. With what holy zeal did she appeal to the women (of the farm?) to go forth on the morrow to slay the three-headed beast, Tammany, Darkness and Evil!

Why not meet this issue squarely? The issue is not Roman Catholicism, nor the tariff, nor the farm relief, nor government operation of public utilities, nor prohibition. It is rather the conflict of the "sewing-machine mind" and urbanity, narrow provincialism and cosmopolitanism. It is to a large extent a question of Hoover or Al Smith, Will Rogers or Robert Benchley, Aunt Sarah or Dean Gildersleeve, Main Street or Times Square.

Governor Smith has left the arena of politics in glorious defeat. He has left the citizens of our prosperous land an idea to ponder: a man may lose courageously and enjoy the battle. He has left the Democratic party an emblem: a brown derby, slick, symbolic. A traditionally urbane South and the cities united of the North may try it on, find it to their liking and make it a more popular headgear than the rustic fedora of Gopher Prairie.

JOSEPH J. SEXTON.

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor:—Even a cursory analysis of the election results must convince the most conservative that in whole sections of the country tremendous blocks of votes were cast upon false or prejudiced and distorted information about the Catholic Church. It does not seem to me that we can completely absolve ourselves as Catholics for the existence of this condition. It is all very well for us to remain silent and turn the other cheek as far as our own personal fortunes are concerned, but where the transcendent divine mission of the Church and the wider interest of truth are concerned it is necessary to adopt other means. It is now a time of boldness of speech upon the facts, an unceasing program of education, propaganda if you will, in the interest of those facts. We have failed miserably in this task in the past either through downright complacency or lack of organization. Our lay resources are largely for some reason inert.

Contrast this state with the active work of the Catholic Evidence Guild, mainly a lay body for information on the Church in England, with the work or lack of work in this country. The program of the Calvert Associates becomes a desperate necessity. I sincerely hope, as a member, that there will be no let-up in its efforts, that rather a much larger,

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more intensive program of education will be devised. It is true that the will not to believe on the part of the prejudiced mind is discouraging, but accomplishment does not take counsel of discouragement. The Calvert Associates must of course adhere to their non-partizan policy and rigidly exclude a political objective from its sole function, the education of the general public upon the truth of the Catholic Church. Though naturally resenting the action of our fellow-citizens when they demand a religious test for office of any kind as being a nullification of a provision of the constitution, that is really quite secondary to the greater wrong which is done to us in the maligning of our faith. If only this campaign and its results will arouse us to action of a strictly educational kind, it will have served us and the fellow-citizen we hope to enlighten a great good. I am privileged to pledge myself to the cause of the Associates in any way in which I am capable.

REV. CHARLES A. HART.

Philadelphia, Pa.

TO the Editor:—It has been declared repeatedly in the recent political campaign for the Presidency that the constitutional right of one of America's ablest and most prominent citizens had been assailed. Now it seems to me that there is in this declaration confusion of thought and illogical reasoning. Governor Smith's right to hold office has not been assailed at all. He has been elected to the highest office in his state four times, but I have never heard nor read of anyone challenging his right to hold that office. Had he been elected to the Presidency of the United States that right would not have been assailed.

There is no doubt that many persons voted against the Governor because of his religious affiliations. Whether this be considered a valid reason or not—and with many enlightened Americans it is not a valid reason—still it is a reason for not voting for him rather than a challenge of his right to hold office.

It has been affirmed that Mr. Hoover should not have been elected to the Presidency because he is a Quaker and as a Quaker he would not support the nation in the event of war. This was not a challenge of Mr. Hoover's right to hold office; it was merely a reason for not voting for him.

I remember that men were urged not to vote for ex-President Taft because he was a Unitarian, and as such he did not believe in the Divinity of Christ. Again, this was not assailing Mr. Taft's right to hold office; it was simply a reason given for not voting for him.

A great host of folks—among them some of the most brilliant minds in America, including the editor of The Commonweal—have been confusing a right with a reason—the constitutional right to hold office regardless of one's religious affiliations if elected to that office (notice that "if") with a reason for not voting for a candidate for that office.

HOWARD W. KING.

Portsmouth, R. I.

TO the Editor:—May I take the liberty of offering the editor of The Commonweal a suggestion? The suggestion is prompted by the revelation, in this electoral campaign, not only of a wide prejudice against the Catholic religion, but, more so, of a dense ignorance of its history, its moral standards, and of its attitude toward the Holy See in the consideration of purely civil questions. We have been trying, as our apologetic, to make use, chiefly, of what has happened and what is believed in our own times. If some qualified student of history could contribute several studies of the conditions, say in England, of the working people, the freedom, the rights and the privileges of the people; the place of the Church (unique in England) as a basic force in civil matters—e. g., Magna Charta, and the unity of the nation—this, I believe, would be of great service to our compatriots.

We have Fortescue's De Laudibus Legum Angliae, translated, I think, Thorold Roger's economic studies, historical writers, Lingard, Gasquet, Gardiner, Stubbs, Stryfe (Annals of the Reformation) and such like, better known to your student than to me, all to be drawn on. I am not in any sense a student, only a cursory reader. But I feel that until we go to the root of things and popularize history for the casual reader, we have not even begun in the campaign. This is what old William Cobbet did and I should judge with success, when the book was read all over England and translated and widely read in Europe.

DOM LEONARD SARGENT, O.S.B.

CARDINAL MERCIER AND THE VOLSTEAD ACT

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor:—Mrs. Willebrandt's attempt to make of Cardinal Mercier a supporter of Volsteadism is obviously full of misunderstanding. Her quotation from La Croix d'Or rests upon no written statement by the Cardinal but on something he is reported to have said to an American newspaperman. Probably the greater part of the error arose out of failure of the original interviewer to grasp that in France and Belgium "l'alcohol" when used of alcoholic drinks currently means highly alcoholic distilled liquors and most emphatically does not mean wine, beer or cider.

No one who knew the great Cardinal could possibly believe that he thought wine a deadly thing from which the clergy should abstain for the sake of setting an example. I twice had the honor of being a guest at his table: on each occasion two kinds of wine were served and he drank a little of both himself. My understanding is that such was his daily habit, but in order that Mrs. Willebrandt may be fully informed I suggest that The Commonweal write to Lord Halifax, Belloc, the Abbé Van den Hout, or others of those who knew him well.

HOFFMAN NICKERSON.

IN MEMORIAM: THOMAS WALSH

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor:—I am deeply saddened by the sudden death of Mr. Walsh, whose culture has always appealed to me. He was good enough to send me several of his books which I appreciate very highly.

I sympathize with the bereaved family and also with you. His loss at his own fireside and at the desk of The Commonweal cannot be measured.

His soul I shall remember at the altar. Requiescat in pace!

PATRICK CARDINAL HAYES,
Archbishop of New York.

Mayfield, Calif.

TO the Editor:—The members of the Mark Twain Society wish to express their deep sorrow upon the death of Thomas Walsh. He was a true poet, and possessed all the glory of life, with the simplicity, charm and true manliness of a knight in the days of chivalry.

CYRIL CLEMENS.

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THE PLAY

By R. DANA SKINNER

A New Macbeth

MR. GEORGE TYLER'S revival of Macbeth burst upon an expectant New York audience two weeks ago with a rather feeble explosion. In one sense Macbeth ought to be a very modern tragedy—for with the least little turn of imagination you can see it as a story of modern gang warfare among the bootleggers. Think of poor old Duncan as the king of Chicago's beer ring, of Macbeth as his host in a night club, and of Lady Macbeth as the flaming and ambitious hostess of the night club determined on seeing her husband ruler of the underworld. Fifteen years ago Macbeth seemed old-fashioned in the sense that such wholesale slaughter among friends was no longer the correct thing. But with conditions as they stand today, Macbeth takes on the hue of possible reality once more. I mention this in no spirit of derision, but merely to show that the familiar knowledge and experience of the audience can be of vast importance in heightening the present-day meaning of a play.

That the Tyler Macbeth does not stand forth as a modern play, but rather as a very antique bit of explosive declamation, is due to a combination of factors well worth examining in detail. In the first place we have the much-heralded settings by Gordon Craig. Craig, of course, has been a pioneer of the art of modern stage setting and has earned his fame justly. But in most of his designs for Macbeth he has effected an unhappy compromise between the old and the new. He uses a vast number of cylinders and staircases, and vast quantities of purple light, but somehow he never succeeds in making the settings subserve the dramatic action. In other words, they carry no sense of illusion. They obtrude themselves upon the eye by their lack of simplicity and by their occasional return to an older type of realism. Somehow you simply can't believe at one minute that rocks are represented by cylinders and stairs, when a castle wall is represented at the next minute by the traditional carefully painted canvas. To be really effective, modern stage design must be one thing or the other. To have the two mixed together is like having the characters speak part of the time in majestic blank verse and the rest of the time in modern slang.

In full justice to Mr. Craig, there are two or three scenes of surpassing effectiveness, notably Macbeth's second scene with the witches. This scene is really packed full of illusion and of a sense of the supernatural. But to balance this, the banquet scene is one of the most unhappy compromises imaginable. To make matters worse, the ghost parades through this scene in so tangible a fashion that it takes on the hue of comedy.

We now come to the question of the acting. In the early try-outs of the production, Margaret Anglin took the part of Lady Macbeth. But before its arrival in New York, an accident to her foot compelled a change, and Florence Reed undertook to show her versatility by playing this vengeful lady, after two years of The Shanghai Gesture. Before the performance I heard some lighthearted comment to the effect that Florence Reed might get the two parts mixed up. Imagine my amazement and surprise, however, on finding that she really did get them mixed up! Half of the time she spoke with the curious tinge of foreign accent, with the high nasal tones alternating with deep gutturals, and with the rasping malice of none other than the Chinese lady who so unhappily survived, and survived, and survived in The Shanghai Gesture.

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It really seemed as if her vocal chords had become fixed after two years of artificial discipline. It was not until the sleep-walking scene that one began to realize that Florence Reed is, after all, a fine actress, and that she might conceivably have done very well indeed by Lady Macbeth. The fact remains, however, that the net impression of her first New York performance was almost grotesque.

Nor did Lyn Harding as Macbeth help the situation appreciably. He was a big, soft, overgrown weakling, afraid of his own shadow, and almost pathetic in his terror. This might have been an interesting, if novel, interpretation if it had not been marred by that kind of spurious declamation which one associates only with clever burlesques of the old-time Shakespearean actor. Surely there can be no real need for all the splutterings and mutterings and shoutings and ravings with which he afflicted the audience. As if to create a visible and audible confirmation of this feeling, Mr. Basil Gill rendered the lines of MacDuff with such dignity, pathos and true feeling that he became quite the hero of an otherwise unhappy evening.

All of which leads to one conclusion—that Shakespeare is sadly in need of a strong-minded producer, armed with a single purpose of creating illusion through vigorous unity of treatment. Anyone who thinks Shakespeare is dead is very much mistaken. But anyone who says that the average producer of Shakespeare is half dead comes very near the truth. My suggestion to some venturesome spirit is to give a revival of Macbeth in simple, straightforward fashion and in exactly the same spirit as if he were staging a modern story of gang warfare. This might necessitate a few cuts and changes of the kind that Shakespeare himself would certainly make if he were alive today. But only a production of this character would show the astonishing vitality which still lingers in the old text. (At the Knickerbocker Theatre.)

The Jealous Moon

DURING the prologue and first act, I felt that this Pierrot fantasy by Theodore Charles and Jane Cowl was going to be one of the most delightful experiences of the season. It had grace, glamour, romance and disarming simplicity. The second act rather broke the spell by excessive length and unnecessary repetition. The third act once more caught the spirit of the first and made one wish ardently that the whole evening could have been cast in one mold instead of two.

A maker of puppets, after quarreling with the young mistress of the puppet wardrobe, has a dream which carries him back to the old story of Pierrot and Columbine ending in the famous tragedy. It serves him such a healthy lesson that on waking up he promptly brings a happier ending to his own romance. It is all very naïve and sentimental and lovely, and not unlike the moonlight that plays throughout the Columbine fantasy. But that second act is a heavy load to carry. And even the superlative charm and grace of Miss Jane Cowl cannot quite overcome this handicap. Philip Merivale is acting once more with Miss Cowl, this time as the puppet-maker and eternal Pierrot. He gives a good exhibition of his versatility and skill, and this may perhaps remove forever the impression that he is good for only one type of part. Guy Standing is not quite so happy a choice as Harlequin. He acts it with tenderness and sincerity, but in a very different key from the others. The rest of the cast is rather more than competent, including some good bits by Hale Norcross as Scaramouche, Joyce Carey as Vermilia, and by Marion Evensen as the puppet of Ophelia come to life and mixed up in the general fantasy. (At the Majestic Theatre.)

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BOOKS

A Scientific Herald of Revolt

William Bateson, F.R.S. Naturalist, by Beatrice Bateson. New York: The Macmillan Company. $8.40.

THIS volume contains a collection of important essays and addresses, all of them very well known to biologists, and some of them even familiar to the general reader interested in scientific problems. Bateson was the most significant figure in the English-speaking biological world of the past twenty-five years or more, and in considering this book the simplest plan will be to develop that statement from the materials it affords, and from personal recollections.

Bateson's father was a man of distinction—Master of Saint John's College, Cambridge—and held in high esteem by his academic colleagues. Like many another scientifically-minded boy, Bateson was a complete failure at school, and even at the university he found almost insuperable difficulties in acquiring sufficient knowledge of mathematics to pass his ordinary examinations. However, having turned to the honor schools, he took his degree with high distinction in biology. The opportunity was then afforded to him in 1883 of pursuing research work on Balanoglossus, a sea-beast existing in considerable numbers in Chesapeake Bay, the work to be done at Johns Hopkins University, then situated at Hampton, Virginia. It is not a little interesting that his earliest success is associated with the United States, with which also it may be said is associated almost the last scene of his life.

The memoir which he published on Balanoglossus attracted much attention in the scientific world and, on its completion, Bateson went to central Asia to study the fauna of the slowly evaporating salt lakes. He returned from this expedition to Cambridge, where he was elected a fellow of Saint John's College. At this time it happened that I was an external examiner for the Natural Science Tripos in that university. Bateson was engaged in collecting material for his great book on Variation and as I was working at the same subject, though on quite different lines, we were soon brought in contact with one another. I found him a very charming companion and was naturally gratified by the kindness which he showed to one considerably his junior and much less well known in the scientific world. In due course his book, Materials for the Study of Variation, appeared in 1894 and at once aroused deep interest and considerable criticism.

Haeckel, then at his zenith, declared that if the ideas in this book were to be accepted, one might as well go back to Moses. The point of the book was this: Nature presents us with an extraordinarily varied picture, but that picture is not continuous, as on the Darwinian showing one might expect it to be. In point of fact, species do not shade off into one another; nature is not a gently inclined plane but a set of steps. Bateson had by this time become a heretic from the Darwinian point of view, then held as the one true gospel of science.

Next we come to the discovery of Mendel. That disappointed abbot had lain silent in his grave for sixteen years when his forgotten papers were independently discovered by three European men of science who set the whole biological world afire with them. None more so than Bateson, whose doubts as to Darwin and views as to discontinuity made him receptive of the new ideas, and in a very brief space he became recognized as the English prophet of Mendelism. In fact

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his book on the subject still remains a classic work and contains what may be described as the authorized translations into English of Mendel's original papers.

It is difficult for anyone who did not live through that period to understand the embittered discussions and heated personal controversies which arose between the orthodox Darwinians and the new Mendelians. The former held with their leader that evolution took place by the gradual accumulation of small variations. It was not long before the latter—though this was no part of Mendel's teaching—began to proclaim that evolution proceeded by the dropping of characters, in other words that the sum was done by subtraction. Bateson was the leader of this band and so bitter and personal were the disputes that, as the memoir tells us, one result was the complete severing of the strong personal friendship which had for years existed between him and the late Professor Weldon.

The next point in the story is the appointment of Bateson to be superintendent of the John Innes Horticultural Institute, exactly the position enabling him to carry out extensive researches on plant breeding on Mendelian lines. Here he remained to the end of his life.

At the outbreak of the great war Bateson was in Australia as president of the British Association, then holding its annual meeting in that part of the world. It was at Melbourne that he clearly enunciated his abandonment of Darwinian ideas:

"We go to Darwin for his incomparable collections of facts. We would fain emulate his scholarship, his width and his power of exposition, but to us he speaks no more with philosophical authority. We read his scheme of evolution as we would those of Lucretius or of Lamarck, delighting in their simplicity and their courage."

To some his rather harsh remarks about mental defectives caused considerable pain, yet it is to be remembered that he was in no sense an advanced eugenist since, as he pointed out to his audience, had eugenists been in power at the time there would never have been a Beethoven, since his father was a habitual drunkard and his mother died of consumption.

Bateson himself lived under the shadow of anginal symptoms yet he went bravely on with his work, and in 1922 he came to Toronto to deliver an address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science. As he himself afterward remarked, that address was the match which set alight the bonfire of Dayton and the anti-evolution propaganda in the United States, for while he proclaimed his firm belief in evolution, he admitted that he could give no definite belief to any of the theories regarding its actual modes and processes. His ideas were, one must suppose, misconstrued by many American papers bearing headlines such as Darwin Downed.

Bateson was not only a scientific figure in his period but, in many ways, the typical product of his age. He had no kind of interest, so the memoir tells us, in religion, and as a matter of fact I cannot remember his ever having touched upon that subject in our conversations. I do not for a moment suppose he was anti-Catholic, or even anti-religious: the matter was simply one with which he in no way concerned himself. His attitude toward life is well summed up in a passage in an address to the Salt Schools.

"We are all man born into a splendid and terrible world in which for a while our lot is to enjoy and to suffer. The one reasonable aim of man is that life shall be as happy as it can be made, with as much as possible of joy and as little as possible of pain. There is only one way of attaining that aim: the pursuit of natural knowledge."

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"TO UNDERSTAND oneself," says Santayana, "is the classic form of consolation; to elude oneself is the romantic." The Abbé Dimnet is severely classical. He not only believes in clear thinking, but, what is more amazing, he does not seem to fear it. His courage is commendable. He declines to be intimidated even by "that sacrosanct thing called common sense," which holds a workaday world in thrall. He regrets "the absence of intellectual independence in most men." He would like to save children from the conformity which is a by-product of education, and which destroys their earlier originality and concentration.

In all this the Abbé reveals a flattering confidence in the capacity of the human mind for thought. He holds that it (the mind) can be lifted, or can lift itself, out of the rut of routine; that a little solitude, a little meditation, a little serious reading, will go far toward effecting its release. How a gregarious people ("Americans never have enough of one another," he muses wonderingly) can be induced to seek privacy, even if they could get it, which they can't, is not made clear; but no one knows better than Dimnet that collective consciousness is fatal to individual thinking. "The antipathy of the multitude to distinction" has probably smothered two-thirds of the genius of the world. Without privacy, meditation (the most severe of mental exercises) is impossible; and, as for read-

it but she is much better and the doctor says there is hope for her." The man went in to see his wife and she greeted him with an old-time smile and said, "I am going to get well; I shall soon be home with you again."

She gained very rapidly and was soon home. They set their house in order and set up the family altar and their home became a house of prayer. He kept his promise and took God into his business. His business increased and God made him a blessing to many.

Many today are trampling the mercy and blessings of God under foot. They never recognize the hand of God in anything. They never realize that God is the author, owner, and giver of every good thing they enjoy. "I girded thee, though thou hast not known me" (Isa. 45:5). How sad not to know our great God, who so many times has protected us and bestowed his divine favors upon us!

Friend, I pray God to awaken you before the death angel calls at your door and it is too late. I long to be a brother to you and help you to find and fill a greater place and purpose in life. I long to help you to make home and life sweeter, so that when home is broken up there will be fond memories of the past. Your brother knows by experience that the fondest memories of the past, after a companion has been called away, is that of a Christian home. You, like this business man, can settle the whole matter in a moment and it will change the whole trend of your life. Just invite Christ into your life. "But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ" (Eph. 2:13).

This tract can be had at the rate of 5 cents for 50 copies or 10 cents a hundred, postpaid, from Gospel Trumpet Company, Anderson, Indiana

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ing, we are drowned in a sea of ink. Who can hope to make headway against that mighty tide? France, as compared to the United States, is still unsubmerged; yet our author tells us that about eleven thousand books are published annually in that country, and that during the reign of Louis XIV the average was seventy. The era of small armies and great soldiers was also the era of small libraries and great thinkers. Spinoza, living frugally in the Hague, had less than sixty volumes of his own; but he did his full share of reflection.

The doctrine underlying Abbé Dimnet's work is that thought alone counts for each and every one of us, and that thought "cannot coexist with anything that is not one's self in its highest and noblest possibility." If we would stop living on our most elementary instincts, which is living for practical ends, we should have a chance to "find ourselves"; and he seems sure that finding ourselves means finding something worth discovery. There is a wealth of illustration in this little book, many apt quotations, passages about cats which must perforce find their way to the heart of every cat lover, and here and there descriptions of great charm and delicacy. The Abbé's literary verdicts are open to criticism. An exaggerated admiration for Rénan, who was unrestrained and emotional rather than austere and intellectual, shakes our confidence. But the little girl whom he saw reading Roman history in the train, and who was just coming to Julius Caesar, must have been a delightful child; and the Ardennes mill-stream which he loved as a tiny boy was surely a beautiful spot. Memories of such places linger in all our hearts. We see them plainly in the clear, undying light which borders the edges of infancy.

AGNES REPPLIER.

Foiled Desire

The Buck in the Snow, by Edna St. Vincent Millay. New York: Harper and Brothers.

WHEN a poet fails to hold an even balance between the ecstasy of experience and the ecstasy of expression, the result is likely to be rhetoric, and there has been a certain quality of rhetoric about all Miss Millay's verse up to The Harp Weaver and The King's Henchman. In her earlier work —Renascence, for example—there is far too much ecstasy about the expression, and the experience is evidently not assimilated. Not that the sorrows of her younger days were less poignant or generous, but that there is some unbalance in the description which leaves us cold. The task of the poet is surely a hard one—to live, even to live desperately, and yet to have to write with calm: balance is difficult, but in this volume—The Buck in the Snow—it would seem as if Miss Millay has achieved it and holds it firm. There is here an even brewing of the flower and thorn, and if there are poems in which life seems too hard to bear, they are welcome, they have a beauty of their own. The perfection of Miss Millay's art—to this reviewer's taste at least—is in a poem that deserves quotation in full:

O mind, beset by music never for a moment quiet—
The wind at the flue, the wind strumming the shutter;
The soft antiphonal speech of the doubled brook,
never for a moment quiet;
The rush of the rain against the glass, his voice in
the eaves-gutter!

Where shall I lay you to sleep, and the robins be
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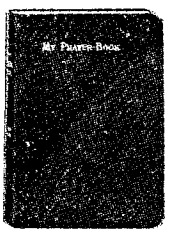

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April is upon us, pitiless and young and harsh.

O April, full of blood, full of breath, have pity
upon us!
Pale, where the winter like a stone has been lifted
away, we emerge like yellow grass.
Be for a moment quiet, buffet us not, have pity
upon us,
Till the green come back into the vein, till the
giddiness pass.

There is a feeling of foiled desire about all Miss Millay's verse: it has given it that tang which makes her seem flippant to some readers, but there is no danger of even the most dense finding anything but a great sincerity in this book.

To a critic not American one of the most charming things about Miss Millay's verse is a strangeness in thought and speech that is indigenous to her own country. It seems to me that the melancholy of her thought is pure American, and her vocabulary certainly is when she uses such native words as chore, bayberry, hornbeam, mow, dicker. But this only lends a double charm to her verse; and it lends force to Hardy's belief that her poetry is one of America's best gifts to the world.

SEAN O'FAOLAIN.

The Forgotten Mr. Hook

Theodore Hook and His Novels, by Myron F. Brightfield. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. $4.00.

THAT the memory of Theodore Hook may be "revived among men" is the hope of Professor Brightfield, and to its fulfilment he has devoted this book. Delightful aspiration, not less so because of its apparent futility. For, with all deference to the writer of the publisher's note, it is not "surprising" that "England's famous wit and only improvisatore" should have been so long neglected; the surprise, pleasant as it may be, is that he has been remembered at all. The wit and the improvisatore gives all to his contemporaries; he has nothing left for posterity, and the immediate advantages of his position ought to compensate for an untrimmed grave.

Certainly Mr. Hook's novels will never justify a full-length disquisition on their author. Some influence they had, it is true, on the fashionable novel of the nineteenth century, but even when to this is added Hook's output of melodramas, farces, translations and pamphlets, the sum does not make him deserving of a long survey. Nor, from the point of view of history, has he any real importance except as the invisible editor of the weekly newspaper John Bull, which set all London laughing at the followers of Queen Caroline and returned George IV to the favor of the man in the street.

What gives a real interest to Professor Brightfield's book is actually the biographical details of which it is largely made up. No one reads Hook's novels, and consequently no one is overly anxious to learn whether he is to be ranked with the second or the twenty-second class of novelists. Better farce and better melodrama than he ever wrote himself are to be found in Mr. Hook's social and political misadventures. The gaiety of his personality and the brightness of the society in which he moved are caught in this book which we hesitate to recommend to "serious students" because it is not dull.

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A Scientific Ghost

Ghost House, by Condé B. Pallen. New York: The Manhattanville Press. $2.00.

IN A day which virtually numbers the production of murder mystery plots among its industries, and in which, therefore, originality of conception in the gentle arts of taking life, concealing such taking and detecting such concealment, is very severely judged, Mr. Pallen's Ghost House is still deserving of a word of special mention. Even the egregious Philo Vance, who dominates the current brood of literary sleuths by his esoteric knowledge of psychotherapy, thermo-dynamics and the higher reaches of calculus, never achieved a more plausible or ingenious thesis than the one which the amateur scientist, George Temple Graves, substantiates in Ghost House.

This thesis has to do with the phenomenon of the haunted house, as such. Graves accepts the phenomenon unquestioningly: the scenes of some crimes, he believes, do possess, in terms of stored-up vibrations, "a certain impression of horror" stamped upon them by the actors of the original tragedy at that acute "nerve climax" of their lives. ". . . Why should they not retain it, storing it up as in a charged battery? Some highly receptive person, with a hypersensitive nervous system, afterward occupies this room, sleeps in an atmosphere charged to the highest possible extent with the fiercest possible human emotions. These emotions . . . work upon him steadily and irresistibly. After awhile, he, too, becomes charged with them, and when his nervous tension is at full stretch, he awakes with a shock and sees what are usually called ghosts."

The problem is to create instruments delicate enough to take off these impressions and reproduce them, thereby reconstructing the original crime. It is this experiment which occupies Graves throughout Ghost House. Incidentally, of course, it involves him in some of the consequences of the crime which he succeeds in bringing to light. Equally of course, his secretary and faithful helper in the experiment has been transformed into his sweetheart by the end of it, and both benefit by the triumph of right and justice on the last page. This portion of Mr. Pallen's story, presenting the usual romantic stencils which are used to adorn mystery tales, has no more than the usual interest and holding power. But the core idea of the book strikes so skilful a medium between the mere fairy-tale-of-science impossibility and prosaic actuality, it is so cleverly addressed to that combination of knowledge and wonder which modern living has made our possession, that Ghost House is better worth reading than most of the books in its category.

MARY KOLARS.

Applied Christianity

Social Principles of the Gospels, by Alphonse Lugan; translated from the French by T. Lawrason Riggs, with a preface by John A. Ryan. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.25.

ABBE LUGAN'S book holds the middle ground between the extremists who would make Christ's message purely individualistic, with no social implications whatever, and those who would find clearly expressed therein a complete social platform for the present day. For Abbé Lugan is enunciating the social principles of the Gospels, rather than the concrete application of those principles. It is something that needed to be done for the pre-war France for which Abbé Lugan first wrote, and it is something that needs to be done even more today for the Catholics of our own country.

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Those who are looking for the formulation of all the articles of a social reform creed will be disappointed in this book. But they should remember that the first step toward a platform is the clear realization of principles, the development of what may be called a social conscience. A fair idea of the range of Abbé Lugan's book can be obtained from the chapter headings—Jesus and the Individual, Jesus and the Family, Opinions Concerning Jesus' Social Teaching, Jesus and Society, Jesus and Fraternity, Jesus and Equality, Jesus and Liberty. Unfortunately there is no index.

J. Elliot Ross.

Sandberg's Lincoln Abbreviated

Abe Lincoln Grows Up, by Carl Sandberg. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

THIS volume, printed in large type and illustrated with pen and ink drawings by James Daugherty, is reprinted from Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years. The publisher's note says that "it is made from the first twenty-seven chapters of the original two-volume biography." The illustrations are of varied excellence; some could scarcely be better; others should not have found their way into a published volume.

There is little need of praising the general excellence of Mr. Sandberg's longer work on Lincoln; there is similarly little need of praising this reprint (designed for younger readers) of the first twenty-seven chapters, i. e., of that portion of the longer work which carries Lincoln up to his nineteenth year. Historians of the most precise variety may purse their lips at Mr. Sandberg's dramatizing of his hero's inner life; there is certainly no possible immediate evidence for knowing what Mr. A. Lincoln thought as he drove in his buggy along the muddy roads of southern Illinois some evening in the early fifties of the last century. Throughout the book there is much which must very frankly be considered the author's own interpretation of his sources. If one is aware of this, and if the author is as conscientious as Mr. Sandberg in his subjectivity, the general reader (and even the historian) cannot object. Everyone should read Sandberg's Lincoln who wishes to form any opinion of one of America's most interesting men.

Harry Lorin Binsse.

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